1: Garrett B-4, 5 (ca. 1885) 1891
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The country houses of the Kurds are for the most part—like those of their neighbours, the Armenians, already described—underground dwellings, with the cattle-stable communicating with the mándil, or public-room. The cooking stove consists of an immense earthen jar, wider in the centre than at the top and bottom, which is sunk into the floor of the principal room. Into it a quantity of dung, the native fuel of compressed straw and cow-dung, is thrown, and from an iron bar placed across the orifice a kettle is suspended by a chain. Over this stove the women sit, regardless of the smoke and flame issuing from the ground as from the crater of a volcano. The cooking finds its only exit by the little window high up in the wall, which admits the small modicum of light with which the inmates content themselves.

The furniture is very simple, being merely a few carpets and quilts, some mattresses, and a number of leather wallets, which contain the wearing apparel and other household goods not in general use. This apartment serves as kitchen, sitting- and sleeping-room combined, three or four generations finding rest and comfort within its four walls. Out of this room opens the store-room, which contains a somewhat cistern, like an ancient sarcophagus in shape, and a number of earthen jars of different sizes, the largest quite four feet high, in shape like the Greek amphora. The cistern is used for making a kind of beer called bóza, a liquor called sarabend, extracted from the juice of the pomegranate, and other provisions for domestic

little collection of arms--rifles, bandoliers, Shenkiri (the curved Turkish dagger)--many often be seen, because men with business in the court are disarmed on entering and may reclaim their weapons after their departure. The roofs are of earth thickly plastered and rolled on supporting joists of bundled poles and twigs, and on them tufts of grass have found a foothold. In summer the policemen on duty at night take up their station in a corner of the roof.

The offices of the court open on the inner courtyard. There are but a few loopholes in the outer wall of the first storey, and the interior windows and those of the second storey facing the valley are glassed and barred. The walls within are plastered, but the ceiling consists of bare branches and poles which support the roof. The floors are of tamped earth. The furniture--desks, chairs, and long, high wooden benches--is unpainted, while a few offices boast upholstered easy-chairs. Cases, desks, and commonest corners are occupied with stacks of dossiers and loosely-pinned papers. Everything is written by hand, for there are no typewriters. In the corner of every office stands the omnipresent grey water-jug with a glass turned down over its mouth. There is no electric lighting, and the rare work which demands attention after dark must be done by kerosene or gasoline lanterns. A few of the rooms are equipped with stoves in winter time. Directly across the courtyard from the gateway is the jail, its inner wall

consisting of a large steel grill and its usual few inmates, squatting against the walls, on display. The official day begins at about eight o'clock and continues without interruption until two or three o'clock, although it is often shortened during the hot summer months or the fasting of Ramadan. A number of officials may continue their work after a recess of one or two hours, but for most labor comes to a close in the early afternoon. During the time of business the courtyard is a scene of activity, filled with villagers and townspeople on various errands, policemen going to or from their duties, servants carrying tea or sherbet, and, of course, a scattering of loafers with no business at all.

To the left of the gateway and up a flight of mud-brick stairs may be found the office of the <u>qaimmaqam</u>. It is a typical example of an official's establishment of the Arab Middle East, and may be visited and its ritual repeated again and again. The far wall is decorated with a large framed photograph of the ruler and a map of the area. Beneath it stands the <u>qaimmaqam</u>'s littered desk, flanked with an old-fashioned French cradle-phone. Both side walls are lined with upholstered chairs placed arm to arm. In one corner stands a bookcase enclosing a few pamphlets and, ready for testimony, the Quran in its green-and-white cloth envelope. Before the door a servant officiates, full of self importance and colorfully dressed in native garb. A name or card must be submitted to him, and he disappears

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which houses the office of the government veterinarian, behind which a fenced yard usually contains one or two animals, horses or mules, under treatment. Directly behind this, across the street from a corner of the serai, is the "government" chaykhana (tea-room), a distinctive mud-brick building with a porch of tamped earth over which in summer is erected a wooden framework roofed with a thick canopy of oak leaves and branches. Beneath this arbor (in the style of a kapir, Kurdish for such a construction) are arranged a number of high wooden benches and tables, occupied for refreshment or ease during the day by those who have had business in the serai, policemen off duty, a chieftain's bodyguards, or the usual loafers.

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[352]
[517]

To the other side of the serai stands a squat, cement-block building, the "communications" office wherein the post-office, telegraph, and telephone switchboard are to be found. The postmaster, in 1951 a heavy-set Chaldaean (Kaldani, a member of the Christian sect centering around Mosul), has several assistants hired from among the townspeople and one or more of them is on duty day and night. While the post and the telegraph can be handled with efficiency, the telephone equipment leaves much to be desired, and to place a call to such a place as Erbil or Baghdad often requires a good deal of shouting and cranking. It follows that the operators many times suffer considerable frustration, and, unlike other government

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in the primary schools, and about 35 in the intermediate school. All of the children live in Rowanduz itself, for there is no system of transportation for the children in outlying villages. 872

The primary school for boys is a large, mud-brick building standing within a wide gravel yard behind the serai. Constructed in 1925, it is in considerable disrepair today. Within it a number of classrooms open on a small central hall. There are diminutive rooms for the teachers and the director, a "library," and a closet wherein a servant prepares tea. The furnishings, forms and benches of unpainted wood, are the poorest, and the teachers fondly hope for the future construction of a new school with better equipment. The poorer students are furnished their texts, similarly bedraggled from years of use, while those of wealthier homes purchase their own. The primary school for girls is a short distance up the street, a smaller, square mud-brick building subsidized some years ago from private ownership. The intermediate school is to be found in the upper part of the town, a spacious single-storey structure of cement-block, completed in 1950. 344 [352] [872]

The several instructors of the girl's primary school are women. Those of the boy's primary school and intermediate school are men, numbering nine in all, including the three school directors. Because the Kurdish language is mandatory for beginning instruction, the teachers are either Muslim Kurds or Christians, Nestorians or Chaldaeans, most of whom come from Erbil or Mosul. Some 875

require detailed description, but it is possible to present 347
here an idea of the typical merchant's establishment, as
many of them are almost identical. This is a three-sided
room, open to the street on the fourth, with a width of six
to eight feet and a depth which may vary from ten to twenty,
although some are much smaller and a few larger than these
dimensions. The floor, raised about a foot above the level
of the street, is of tamped earth and may have a carpet or [382]
mat spread over it. Some establishments have glass cases
for the display of merchandise, but it is most often spread
out on the floor, hung from walls or piled against the
walls. The shopkeeper usually has several wooden stools
at his disposal, one for his own use and others for the
accommodation of more important customers and visitors.
In the event of such a visit cigarettes are offered and [374]
tea brought from a nearby shebitang. Most merchants have
a weekly account with the shebitang-owner, the latter
keeping the tally and presenting his bill. They are [357]
assisted by a youngster, often a son or a daughter, who
runs errands, delivers purchases in the omnipresent wicker
basket, and watches the shop whenever the owner is away.
At night the shops are closed with large wooden shutters,
mostly made from packing cases and often displaying stencils
such as "Fragile" or "Ebears Import Company," and are pad-
locked.

During most of the year the merchant opens his shop 443
at seven or eight o'clock in the morning, and closes it for 461
an afternoon rest at noon. He reopens at three or four

agricultural concerns and their concomitant social importance in the life of the townspeople. 241

Of those who furnish the community with food and drink, the tea-shop owner or shavkh might be considered first. There are two shavkhana in the town. That located beside the canal has already been noticed, and the other nine are all within the large area. The buildings vary considerably, for example, three occupy second storeys overlooking the street, but the furnishings are singularly uniform. One such building, the "planter's" shavkhana spoken of above, was of a single storey, rectangular, and built of mud-brick, with a yard on the street and a little porch overlooking the gorge behind. The yard, in use during fair weather, had a number of high, unfinished wooden benches and chairs arranged about it, and the same type of furniture was to be found within the building. In a corner of the room near the door was a huge brass urn, not unlike those used in our restaurants for coffee, a pottery water-jug, and a collection of glasses. The owner usually occupied a bench beside the door and had a brass tray on the table before him in which he made change. He had a collection of celluloid counters for keeping a tally on tea sent out to the merchants. A waiter in skull-cap and slippers served the customers and brought the money to the owner. 265 347 [352] [415] [451]

The etiquette of entering a shavkhana varies somewhat according to the personalities of its customers. In 265 5?o

produced and cheaper, tends more and more to replace stone 935
in house building, despite the fact that thereby the life
of a house, particularly in a region of winter rain and
snow, is considerably shortened. Mud-brick has undoubtedly
been known in the region from antiquity, but its greatly
increased use in the construction of house walls is a
feature of the last half-century. Cement-blocks, which
have been cited in certain government structures, are im-
ported, and these buildings themselves are constructed
under the direction of government engineers. Some of the
chieftains in outlying villages have not missed the advan-
tages of building stone and concrete over mud-brick as
far as small arms fire is concerned, and one of them, [702]
Rukaud Bag of the Parakimat, was busy in erecting a large
building which on completion will be almost the duplicate
of a fortified police post.

The carpenters of the town are occupied partially 335
in building and partially in the repair of furniture and 332
certain manufactures. Regular pieces of timber are rare
in such a deforested area, and most of them, such as lintels,
are used again and again. Mud-roofs are laid down on a
thick layer of poles and twigs which are furnished by
village woodmen. Doorposts and doors are made of heavy,
roughly cut timber, and window-frames with glass must be
imported from Ereil. Furniture, benches and chairs, are [952]
used for generations, and the carpenters simply repair
them, rather than manufacture new items. Aside from this

tailors, seamstresses and mothers are busy during the days preceding the celebration in their preparation, something which resembles our own habit of appearing in new clothing on Easter.

As in the case of seamstresses, a number of women belonging to the poorer households find casual employment as laundresses to those who can afford the expense. There is no specific "wash day," just as there are no fixed periods in the home for changing clothing or linen. A laundress may be called whenever enough soiled clothing warrants her appearance. Almost every larger dwelling contains a tank or tub, usually submerged in the level of the court, for a multiplicity of purposes, among them washing dishes, bathing infants, and laundry. For washing, coarse laundry soap obtained from the general merchants (an domestic soap is sold) is used, or water alone. Both laundering involves pounding and wringing on the stones beside the tank, and garments washed too often in this fashion soon show signs of wear. In one's experience, a handkerchief, which had withstood perhaps two years of classing in the United States, rapidly deteriorated after two trips to the laundress in Rwanda, and it was similar with other items of apparel. Appreciative of this, laundry is not done by the townspeople with the regularity known in Northern Europe or America. Dry cleaning is unknown, and, to their chagrin, the woolen suits of the officials go into the tank with everything else. One such official, a Baghdadi by origin, possessed a suit with two pairs of trousers, one

yards has a fresh mountain spring running through it, 211
vigorously refused to drink the water of Kawandwe, asserting 913
it was "dirty" and made him ill. Because many of the 365
channels are open, numerous things can get in the water,
to name a few, dogs, chickens, infants, and refuse, as it
causes comment, and the townspeople are cognizant of the
fact. In the larger households the interior basins and
water jars are filled just before daybreak when the water,
after a night of running, is thought to be purer, and the
women of poorer homes carry their water at the same time.
"The higher in the town, the better the water," it is said,
although this in no way seems to operate to condition the
price of land.

The houses of the poorer townspeople are to be found 941
clustered on the cheaper land of the residential upper town.
While some are two-storey apartment buildings housing 942
several families, the characteristic form is a small,
rectangular mud-brick building of a single room with a
rolled mud roof. The floor is of earth, the walls and
ceiling unfinished, and the windows, if there are any,
small, open loopholes in the walls. In lieu of a wooden
door, a hanging of coarse cloth or blanketing may be used
in winter. Cooking surrounds an earthen fire-pit in one [954]
corner, or, in fair weather, has a place just outside the [952]
door, but the diet of the poor does not require complex
preparation. The furnishings of these homes are the 952
meagerest: a few mats, a collection of tattered blankets 513
and quilts from which the beds are made on the floor, a

cradle is more or less personal necessity for this class, and several cooking utensils and containers. Accommodations of this type are simple, but not unpleasant, albeit devoid of lighting, toilet facilities, and the like, and, because the climate is moderate, lack the fetid atmosphere which so often characterizes similar housing to the south.

It is possible, however, to put more detailed attention to the homes of wealthier persons, merchants and landowners, for they illustrate in greater variety the domestic life of the town. In these cases, houses of a number of rooms, there is almost always some attempt to realize an interior courtyard. In a number, this is only an area to the rear surrounded by a fence, in others, a yard flanked on three sides by the building with the fourth left open, and in the great houses, such as those of Beit Khas or Ra'uf Effendi, a "true" courtyard with the apartments of the house and high brick walls on all sides. These courtyards are flagged with flat stones or surfaced with hardened earth, and contain a rectangular basin or tank, either sunk into the ground itself or built up above it, watered by a pipe from an external supply. The walls of such houses, of mud-brick or stone, are finished with a layer of plastered mud on the outside and with the same material or real plaster within, and may be painted with a white, yellow, or light blue wash. The outer walls are usually extremely thick, two or three feet, and the outside windows of the first storey consist only of small, unglassed loopholes high above the ground. Because of

[i.e. building the greater thickness, Arnold?]

fuggits supplied by the villagers, in their courtyard, but they are used as fuel for the kitchen rather than to obtain household warmth, and incidentally serve at night as roosts for the chickens.

Of the rooms of the house, those used for sleeping might be considered first, which also serve as apartments for the women, although there is nothing approaching the Oriental notion of a harim with its guarded seclusion and separate domestic facilities. These sleeping rooms have rectangular niches, several feet off the floor, cut into the outer walls whose thickness can accommodate them, which house the brightly-painted chests containing the clothing and goods of the house. A few niches may hold trinkets, mirrors, photographs, and the like. A number of the households have wooden or iron bedsteads in the European style, the latter imported from Erbil, but the greater part use wool or cotton mattresses spread directly on the floor with a bed of blankets and quilts made up on them. A variety of pillows and bolsters are in use, not only in these rooms, but elsewhere in the home. During the day the mattresses and their coverings are rolled up against the walls and serve as couches for those occupying the room. They may be unrolled after the noon meal for the short rest taken by many at this time. The floor itself is covered with mats, products of southern Iraq, or carpets, some of the latter beautiful examples of Iranian weaving. Other furniture, chairs or stools, is not uncommon, but is also

are invariable. The water-jug, with a glass tumbler turned down over its mouth, always stands beside the door.

During the heat of summer, almost all of the families of the town, rich and poor alike, sleep on their roofs, and the bedsteads and bedding are moved there for a time. Again, because of the necessity of sheltering the women from the gaze of outsiders, windbreaks of cut branches and brush are built up if the house itself does not afford suitable protection. Mosquito netting, the same material used in some of the garments of a bride and obtained from the cloth-sellers, is not used indoors, except to cover an infant's cradle, but is many times placed over the beds on the roof. In the wealthier homes everyone has an individual bed, while in those poorer the children sleep together in a tangle of blankets and quilts. Where a house contains more than a single couple, there is a necessary division of the sleeping quarters, because two couples do not customarily rest in the same room nor should a couple occupy one with a male relative, an uncle or a brother. As a general rule, it might be stated that a woman never sleeps in the same room with any one other than her father, her brothers, her husband, and her sons. On the other hand, there seems to be little effort made to conceal sexual intercourse from the children, who, however, are either too sleepy or too well aware of it to find it of much interest.

The <u>liwankhana</u> or guest-room is mandatory for anyone of social pretension and is found in most cases on the first

floor, although that of Lali Khan is located in a second story. This room, better decorated and maintained than others, is used for the entertainment of male visitors to the house and a more family gathering. Its furniture may consist of benches and chairs, or, in the older style, covered mattresses on the floor on which the guests sit cross-legged. The floors are usually covered with carpets, the best the house can afford, and decorations may include a few photographs, and, in their season, bowls of flowers. A number of prized possessions, such as a set of glass tumblers or a clock are on display. Photographs, taken on special occasions over the years, are kept with great care and displayed to visitors with pride, particularly if the owner has been portrayed with one or more notables, officials or chieftains. Several families have old box cameras and some film is available with the general merchants, but developing and printing must be done in Kabil. In lieu of banquets, not regularly held, visitors are served a variety of things one after the other of which the staples are tea, coffee, or sherbet. That coffee is not served in the Afghanistan has been noticed, but it appears, as well as hot chocolate (prepared, however, in the same way as coffee, with water rather than milk), with some frequency in the guest-rooms. These refreshments are brought in rapid succession. In the Ziyaratkhana of Lali Khan tea, water, coffee, fresh grape juice, more tea, and sherbet, as well as apricots and mulberries, were served in a matter of about fifteen minutes.

found just as strongly in the Hillstreets [illegible] peasant
contemporary Egypt as in a Medieval Persian poet. In
London all of the wealthier homes have their gardens,
surrounded by high fences, with a number of trees, willows
those bearing fruit, for shade, and, if there are
people to cultivate them, some plots of vegetables off
one side. In summer it is customary to set out a number
wooden benches and chairs, and guests can be enter-
tained with the addition of freshly-picked fruits to the
usual beverages. By popular admission, the most spectacular
thing about Rawandiz is that of Hajji Mohammed 'Ali Agha of
Sutlan, whose house is built over the course of an icy
mountain spring. This stream flows in a masonry channel
through the plot itself. The pale beauty fruits chilled
the water and the pleasant sound of the swiftly running
mix together with the usual shade trees, carpets, and
cushions. Gardens are seasonally used to a much greater
extent by the family as a whole than the guest-room, and
children of the house, in addition to playing there, are
often responsible for keeping birds and stray goats from
the ripening fruits and vegetables. It follows that the
mongrels are, as might be expected, quite much greater in-
terest to the produce than those they are set to guard
against..

Aside from a few rooms devoted to storage, as of
forewood, it remains to take account of the kitchen, al-
ways to be found on the first floor and more or less open
to the courtyard, inasmuch as chimneys are unknown or

with each other in Arabic, heavily interlard their speech with English and French words and phrases. The official class can, with legitimacy, claim that it is the more progressive and better educated, but, as if to drive a wedge between itself and its subjects, the adjective bolshi, "rustic," is used with flippancy and condescension. As this new "civil elite" continues to assert itself at the expense of the populist, the hardest distinction, both hard and real, Westernization has become one of its distinctive marks.

These throws back on themselves for these reasons, the distinctions between Arab and Kurd, and between educated and uneducated, and their insistence on "distance," the officials and officers here of necessity created a social life of their own, exclusively masculine. A private home in the upper part of the town, whose garden overlooks the gorge, was established as a mejli or "club." This building is of a single storey, built on three sides about a flagged courtyard which forms the garden, and contains only several rooms. Its previous occupant had been an educated effendi whose hobbies were the occult sciences, and he decorated the walls with snakes and other symbols in paint which might lead the uniformed observer to erroneous conclusions in the realm of popular religion. One of the rooms was furnished with chairs and benches, much as a tearoom, another had a table and chairs for cards, and a third was utilized as a kitchen. Two of the townsmen were hired as servants. In the club one might purchase tea, sherbet, and,

purchase bowel which he distributes to his neighbors among the townspeople. The ceremony for the first one is much more extravagant than that held for girls and subsequent male children. Twins are thought to be a blessing, "a gift of God," and there is a "ceremony similar in size" for them. Albinism seems to be unknown in Kwavalua. Deformed infants, if they survive, are kept within the house, and their parents "thank God for them" just as with normal children.

Infants are fed at the breast for a period of varying length, from six to twenty-four months. Renewed pregnancy regulates weaning, because it is held that the milk is then "unfortunate" for the first child. If the mother cannot suckle her child, a wet-nurse is obtained, and she becomes, as noticed previously, its foster-mother, kivyu, and the child cannot marry one of her children in later life. The wet-nurse resides in the home of the infant, and is established with money and food. In the event that a nurse cannot be obtained, the child is fed with the fresh milk of goats, sheep, or cattle. Infants are not nursed at regular periods, but whenever the mother feels it is necessary, nor are they suckled every time they cry. It is said that "crying develops the voice," and they are often left unsuckled in this respect for some length of time.

The cradle is of wood, and consists of a flat wooden bed raised between four flat legs which are curved to join above it in two arches. The arches are connected by a

cross-piece, and the whole, with the infant bound in it, can be carried about easily by this last. The child is laid on a pad or mat and bound in the cradle with straps of intrinsically woven and embroidered wool. A hollow piece of cane is placed between the infant's legs whereby the urine runs off, either on the earthen floor or into a tin. In warm weather the cradle is covered by lions or goats to protect the baby from flies and mosquitoes. The cross-piece is always hung with charms against the evil eye, curses from the Koran enclosed in cloth packets, pieces of blue porcelain and drilled pebbles, and gilded ornaments. The infant's costume for both sexes is a simple dress of brightly coloured material, sometimes with a little agrun. No undergarments are in use. The shoulder of the dress is also placed with charms, like those mentioned above, or a round embroidered insignia, much like a representation of a sugus-wheel.

A week or two after birth, the infant is named, an event which is not marked in Rwanda by an elaborate ceremony. A man of wealth invites his friends to attend, and entertains them in the guest-room with light refreshments. The mulla or priest is summoned, and the baby is placed in his arms. He has been informed of the name selected previously by one of the family. He holds the child in such a way as to be able to speak into its ear. He gently intones what was described in Rwanda as the isma (Arabic, "creed," more correctly, the shahada, "testimony"

reading, meditation, and conversation, and the chief mulis or priest is usually found there. There is no furniture in this room and the floor is covered with carpets. Matsiwanna run along the sides on which visitors seat themselves cross-legged, and the interior wall contains niches which serve as shelves for a large number of tattered copies of the Quran and other devotional works, the only public library in the town. One must remove his shoes before entering this annex or the main room of the mosque. The latter room because of its large size, has four tree trunks stripped of their bark set up at four points around its center to serve as columns for the support of the roof, centuries of the trunks holding the heavier rafters. The walls are plastered and whitewashed, and the ceiling is unfinished. The floor is covered with a number of carpets and mats. In the center of the rear wall is a plain, painted niche, the mihrab, which indicates the direction of prayer. To the right of this niche is the minbar, the "pulpit," in this case a crudely-made set of wide wooden steps, something like a short ladder, leading up the rear wall about three feet from the floor. At the hours of prayer the mulis takes his place facing the mihrab or niche, and those assembled in the mosque form ranks behind him and imitate his intonations and gestures. On Fridays, if a sermon is called for, the mulis ascends one or two steps of the minbar, and stands facing the congregation to speak. This main room has no windows and the door is open. Outside there is a flight of stone steps leading to the roof from

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

342 515 a cement floor and a drain, plus a low basin fed from a big petrol drum. This was the hammam, the steam bath. It was not used during the time (June–July) I spent in the house. I was told that the petrol drum behind the wall was filled with water from the garden basin, brought in with petrol cans. The water was heated by a twig fire. The bather lathered himself and rinsed in hot water, the steam of which filled this small Turkish bath. The room in front of the bathroom was carpeted when I arrived. 342 Later in the summer the carpet was rolled up to make the place cooler and airier. Only the two easternmost of the three back rooms were used as store rooms, the one for grain and farm implements, the other, amongst other things, for bread. The middle one was connected with the open *hiyate* by a door and a barred, window-shaped opening in the wall. Here meat was hung from the ceiling or on an iron hook when, exceptionally, meat was kept from one day to another, and here also was the cot in which the servants' child slept in the afternoon. A large spiral staircase with high, irregular clay steps, the front of which were edged by twigs, led up to a landing from which a lockable door that, entered on a great stone led out on to the flat clay roof of the family house. During the hot season one ate and slept here, and in view of the use made of it, this roof must be considered a part of the living accommodation. The wings of the family house round the court contained the bakehouse, which lay in front of the compartment that in winter served as a stable for goats. In the bakehouse, which was separated from the court only by some stacked wooden sheets, was a cumbus jar-shaped baking oven, lined with clay. When not in use it was covered by a circular iron sheet. The cookhouse, where food was prepared and bitter chewed, had no windows, but two doors opening on to the courtyard. It lay in the transverse wing just opposite the dwelling house. Inside, against the back wall, was an oil stove, very seldom used. Along the one side wall three shovel-shaped cooking pits of clay[1] were built up on the floor. On the low clay ridge bordering the cooking pit, a triangular gridiron for the saucepan was placed under which a fire of full-length twigs was lit. In the wall opposite the cooking pits was a heavy wooden post on which the churn sack, when in use, was hung. A similar wooden post fixed in the wall outside the entrance to the cookhouse enabled churning to be done out of doors. Various sizes of copper vessels and saucepans, tinned on the inside, were kept in the cookhouse and the food was cooked there. However, the preparations for this took place elsewhere: on the clay floor of the dwelling house the meat was prepared, or vine leaves were folded round lumps of rice and placed on the cooking pot. Meat and rice were rinsed at the washing basin, where also dish washing after meals took place. What we understand as kitchen work was thus distributed over several places and not assembled in one room or at one spot.

352 556 [513] It is sometimes maintained[2] that an almost complete lack of furniture is typical of the oriental home, but it cannot be said that this applies to the village milieu of the Kurdish aristocracy. In Sheikh Taffir's big house there were three iron bedsteads, which, of course, did not correspond with the number of the members of the family. There were several sets of sofas, chairs and tables, some of the older type, heavy, clumsy upholstered sofas and chairs with broad arms each with its own small, octagonal smoker's table, and some of the more modern kind, consisting of a set of green-painted steel furniture with plastic covers of the same colour. In addition there was a pair of wardrobes and a chest of drawers of this veneer. The characteristic feature of this sheikh's home was not the lack of furniture, but the arrangement and use made of it.

4: Hassan E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11



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Fig. 25. Wooden ladder leading to roof. Sargalu.
Fig. 26. Room inside mud house. Thick walls, no furniture. Topsawa.

The most important "piece of furniture" for sitting, eating, working and sleeping purposes was the floor, covered to a greater or lesser extent—according to the time of the year—by felt mats, *kilaki*[P], and what we call oriental—that is to say knotted—rugs, *fārš*, (E. 2257)[P] imported from Iran or from areas of Kurdistan other than those I visited. Neither felt mats nor knotted rugs were ever trodden on by footwear, for all shed their shoes or slippers before walking on the floor spaces thus covered. Life was lived on the floor; there one worked, ate and slept. There was no fixed rule as to which room or part of the house was to act as dining room or bedroom. The spot where the meal tray, *sufra*[P] or *sīnī*,—one for several persons, who continually changed their grouping—was placed on the floor was the dining room for the short space of time it took to consume the meal. It might be one of the three living rooms, the courtyard, or, on warm evenings, up on the clay roof. When tables were used they were moved to the place where the meal was to be and afterwards taken back to their usual positions. The chairs belonging to them led the same wandering existence. Even the big sofas were moved into the murky coolness of the *hayvān* in the hottest hours of the day or into the courtyard in the evening. As a rule, however, they stood unceremoniously along the walls of the room, just like seats in a railway carriage. When visits were paid the guests were placed in them and handed a flag-shaped fan, *bāyān*, 0.323 l. (E. 2271). If there was no large meal in the guests' wing for male guests, the two big tables there were used for piling bedclothes on.

The two cupboards and the last home-made chest of drawers seemed to be quite new elements in the furnishing scheme. They were for the clothes of the men in the house, and were stored in the most westerly of the house's living rooms. They stood as though in an attic or an antiquary's room, the way they were placed showing that there was no sense for interiors or any idea that furniture can be

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[439]
[576]
[342]
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Fig. 27. The chest (E. 2279) on top of wooden bridal chest (E. 2278) with painted glass front showing Muhammad's riding animal *Burāq*. Tuprawa.

decorative. At the side of them stood their predecessors, still used by the women and children of the house: blue, green or red painted tin chests (E. 2279). The key, *kilīla*, to the padlock to each of them was carried by the owner of the chest in her little vest to which it was attached by a safety-pin. These chests represented practically the only private sphere the women had to which others had no access. There was also an example of the wooden chest with legs, *ṣwāq* (E. 2278). Made in the *sāq* of Sulaimani by craftsmen using as material wood from packing cases, with a garishly painted glass front, the panels of which were decorated with bouquets of flowers, fruit, and Muhammad's riding animal with a woman's head, Burāq, it had reached here about a year ago as part of a bride's dowry and had ended in a corner of the middle storeroom. The beds also moved about a good deal in this cultural pattern, which must originally have been based on the tent and its heaping up of objects[34].

The one bed was left to me; the two sons of the house usually slept in the two others. The rest of the family slept on the floor. The original strangeness of the bed was further stressed by the fact that they were never made. During the daytime the bedclothes were rolled together and stacked with the wadded mattresses and blankets, with or without linen covers, used by the rest of the family, the whole being covered over in one big heap. In the evening whilst the pallets for the rest of the families were being prepared, the beds were made in the area of the house in which one had decided to sleep. There, for the night, was the bedroom. The greater utilization of the store room must also be viewed with this flexibility in the use of the dwelling. In the store room were kept not only a stock of necessities like food and drink but also articles of value. Things we should have on show or lying easily accessible

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wages from the work at the Dokan dam), wrist watches, sun-glasses, nail varnish, lighters, tooth brushes, tin-openers, and gramophone.

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A quite small house in the village of Balkha has been chosen as an example of the home round the life of the plain peasant woman. In it dwell a young couple and a daughter 3 years old. This house was neither built of natural stone with short horizontal beams, nor was it detached, being a part of several houses joined together and intended for several families. It was so sited against a steep slope that the building had two stories to the front, with the goat stable in the lower and a dwelling in the upper, to which there was direct access by a path from above. The roof was of the flat, clay-covered type with a base of poplar trunks. The upper storey consisted of only one room closed by a heavy wooden door, plus a loggia, the floor of which formed the roof to the goats' stable. The rear wall was of natural stone along the side of the mountain. The roof was supported by a single poplar trunk at the outermost corner of the goats' stable. During the summer, the sole room of the house was used as a locked store room in which was kept the family's harvest of dried mulberries and what the family owned in the way of kitchen utensils and metal and wooden chests. In the hot weather the family lived on the roof, the loggia above the goats' stable. This loggia had a wall of brushwood at the extreme edge, with the result that, in front of the winter room, it was something between a loggia and a leaf hut.

The clay roof was not only hard-packed and rolled but also glazed with a mixture of clay and chalk, a Balkha peculiarity. This treatment of the roof had to be renewed each year and glazed anew every time water was spilt upon it. Glazing was women's work and was performed as team work, each taking it in turn to help the other. There was absolutely no furniture in this milieu—life was lived on the floor, on the rug rolled out on the roof, and on the mattresses covered with flowered cotton placed along the wall which were used to sit on, the cylindrical pillows acting as back rests. Coon is quite right when saying: "One can be just as comfortable sprawled or dignified on the floor as in the chair"[7]. Cooking and baking facilities consisted of a cooking pit in the rear corner of the loggia outside the door to the only room in the house. Here the cooking pots and the convex, circular iron sheet, saj or tabu, on which the bread sheets, nan, was baked were placed on the fire. The outdoor bee-shaped oven was not used here, close to the Iranian frontier. Water, with the possibility of washing the person, clothes and household utensils, was not found in the house or its immediate vicinity. Some distance away among the terraced houses against the hill was a covered, cave-like washing place with common facilities for the women of the village. However, it was stated that the water course—not a spring of open stream—which fed this "wash house" was so impure that it could not be used in the household. Drinking water thus had to be fetched down in the valley—a climb of more than half an hour—from a waterfall in a wood. Here a small basin had been made of natural stone where the women could wash themselves and their clothes when down to fetch water. The latrine in the house was the goat stable. Churning was done with the churn sack suspended from a tripod. Access to the roof, where one slept on mattresses devoid of sheets, was at night closed by leafy branches, so that neither the grey, long-haired sheep-dog nor cattle from the mountain track could find their way in.

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in between the street wall and the room in the old part of the house. As in the Sheikh's house at Topzawa there was an oil cooker and cooking pits built in the floor. There was electric light in the house and plugs for an electric iron and electric fan. Work connected with the cooking of food was decentralized, also as at Topzawa, despite the slight extent of the house. The food was prepared in the courtyard and in the three-walled room, the cooking and baking was done in the cookhouse, either over the oil stove or cooking pits (the case of cooking), or over a fire with the help of a concave iron sheet, in the case of baking. Washing up was done with cold water at the big basin between the kitchen and the bathroom. Clothes were not washed there in a large, flat vessel placed on the ground.

In the open hall was a set of chimney sofas sofas with detachable, light-blue cotton covers. There was also a large table. All these were evacuation moved down to the courtyard. As an exception the table was used for meals, but as a rule had beddclothes piled on it during the day. There was no used furniture, but the guest room contained an upholstered set of furniture, polished wood sofa and easy chairs covered with plush, and a cotton's table. This set formed an interior and was not moved, but nevertheless guests used the floor of the guest room for sleeping. During the summer there was no furniture in the other rooms with th exception of a pair of low benches on which were heaped the winter blankets, grain sacks and sim like. In addition there stood in the one room, quite alone, a large wardrobe of polished wood wit a mirror in the door. It had originally been intended for clothes and had been fitted with shelves but these had been taken out and replaced by hooks containing the clothing of the different members of the family. Stacked in the corners stood the blue, red and green metal chests, and on the walls were pegs and nails for the clothes of the family[28]. There were no restrictions in regard to women clothing hanging anywhere.

From the one corner of the courtyard, between the cookhouse and the bathroom, a small ladder of poplar trunks led up to the flat *daywaf* of the house, which was connected with all the roofs, though these varied in height, in that sector of the town. During the time I was in Sulaimani the two iron bedsteads of the house were piled up here, and mattresses were rolled out for all the members of the family unless a dust storm forced them down into the courtyard. In that event the mattresses, but not the beds, were moved down. The sleeping spaces on the roof, that in summer time extended the inhabited area of the house in thisway as was the case at the Sheikh's house at Topzawa, was, on the side turned towards an ajacent mosque, closed off by mats[29], which were also seen on the other roofs of the town. However these mats did not provide much private life for they did not form any kind of enclosed space around the sleeping places. A remarkable contrast was created between the common night quarters of all thisown roofs, practically all on the same level, and the complete segregation of the house when descending the ladder. As was the case with the village aristocracy and among the peasants, the diningroom was where the food trays were put down. In the urban environment I did not experience men being eaten on the roof, as this always took place in the house itself, though in different rooms, th hall, or the courtyard. The guest room was only used when entertaining guests on special occasion.

Despite the beginnings of a farming scheme and the interior to be found in the guest room, the same flexibility existed in the plants of the other furniture and in the eating and sleeping pattern as was the case in the villages. Thisinterlaced daily life as practised by the two wives of the house,

369 512 representing of the "uneducated" urban women, as little as it did that of the women in the villages, but was difficult to reconcile with the form of life of the fully and half-grown schoolgoing children. In fact a continual conflict existed between the original, nomad type of life in the house, and the demand for fixed habits, fixed furnishing, necessary for the educated section of the family.

342 178 As an example of a new home intended solely for an educated urban woman we can take one created by a young newly-married couple, both folkschool teachers. It was a miniature edition of my interpreter's home: hall or loggia, with a room for the reception of guests behind. Entrance to the bedroom was gained from the loggia, and thence to the storeroom. In front of these rooms was a court with a cooking pit in the one corner and a pump in the centre. By the street wall there was a latrine in the form of a locked room. The bathroom in the neighbouring house could be used. There was no electric light. The guest room boasted steel furniture, and the loggia mattresses to sit on were also intended for sleeping on on the roof. The bedroom was furnished with a Baghdad suite consisting of a double-bed, wardrobe and dressing table made of polished wood. When this educated couple's home was arranged at the time of marriage there was furniture in all rooms. If this home be compared with others where similar furniture had previously been found, it appeared that in the course of time, as the family increases, the flexible mode of life results in the dissolution of regular furnishing. This had apparently been the case at the home of my interpreter, where the original marriage bed had been moved up to the roof for the changing use of the various members of the family, whilst the wardrobe, filled with bundles, was left in solitary majesty. When planning the wedding of the grown-up son in my interpreter's home, where the couple was to live in the home of the bridegroom's father as members of an extended family, it was decided that the room where the family wardrobe stood and which during the time I lived there had no other furniture, should be given to the young couple. The daughter-in-law would probably acquire a Baghdad bedroom suite as part of her bride wealth. As the young couple, after having been an independent family unit would, after the birth of the first child, divide the woman entering the woman's world of the house, the man the man's world outside — the furnishings would be included in the common, flexible, movable pattern.

[369] [359] [513] [591] [593] [592]

The only possible solution of the problem of housing so large a number of family members in a home with relatively so few rooms, is to use them in common both for meals and for sleeping. It

Fig. 31. (Cf. figs. 24 and 30). Ground-plan of house for newly-married couple. Sakrawand. Scale 1:200.
a: central living room, hy-oda; b: sleeping room; c: store room; d: cooking and baking facilities in courtyard; e: (fire-media) + f: latrine; g: guest room.

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embroidered velvet slippers with high-in heels, *qundîrî* or *pâpuš*, (E. 2349) about 0.25 m. long. In both types the right and left foot are identical. European footwear of "Bata"'s make, from high-heeled black patent leather to summer shoes, was also seen. Women who were much in the mountains used discarded, down-at-heel men's shoes of European manufacture. [291] [[297]]

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*Elements connected with Islam.* External garment and veil. In Southern Kurdistan in the form of cloak and face veil, *abâ-u-pîlî*, which completely concealed both the face and body. [292]

The face veil, *pîlî*, (E. 2332) is rectangular, 0.46 m. x 0.45 m., made of thin, black, honeycomb-woven, gauze-woven silk. The two top corners of the veil are fastened together with a pin before being placed over the head. It hangs down in front of the whole face.

The cloak, *abâ*, (E. 2331) is rectangular with two horizontal shoulder seams 0.65 m. long. It is 1.70 m. long and 1.55 m. wide. Uppermost in each corner there is a vertical slit 0.10 m. long to allow the hands to be passed through. The cloak is made of two lengths of heavy, black silk material, 2.85 m. long and 0.85 m. broad, assembled by a seam running across the finished garment. In this fashion [291]

[text continues top of p. 75 --analyst]

Fig. 59. Woman wearing the black veil and the black cloak, *abâ*, dressed for leaving the home. Sulaimani.

[292] [352] [531]

Fig. 60. Diagram showing the cut of the *abâ* (E. 2331). One side left open. The dotted lines indicate the cuts. Scale 1:30.

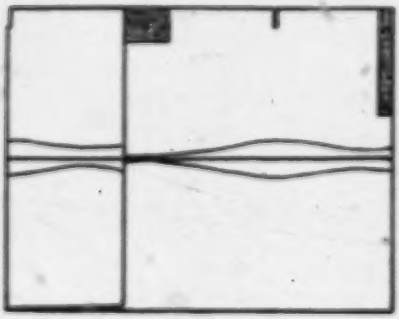

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*Fig. 43. European wedding dress (cf. p. 77,133). Educated urban environment. Sulaimani.*

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[839]

and night dress were identical. To a bride's outfit in an educated milieu belonged a satin house coat and a nightgown intended solely for use at night, which presupposes undressing. In this milieu were also found brassières and even artificial breasts of foam rubber, plus European type panties, though these were made at home out of highly-coloured cotton material.

The following is typical of the educated urban environment:

The upper garments connected with Islam are the most important dress elements. The Kurdish elements are retained but are only used now and again. Dresses are degenerating in regard to material, and also appeared to be in course of dissolution in regard to their composition. Headdress has been abolished and the belt introduced. Of European elements both blouse and skirt have been adopted, plus summer and wedding dresses. In one instance I saw in Sulaimani a short European shoulder-less part of the caftan is twisted together and placed like a bundle over the loins. This way of carrying it,

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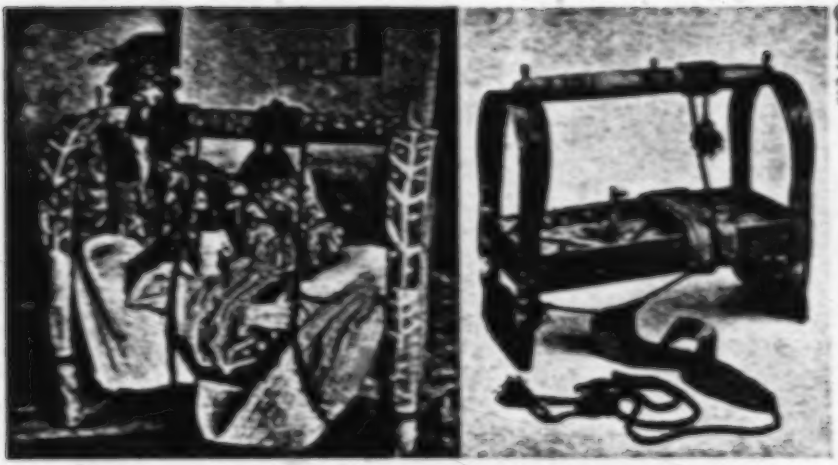

Fig. 84. Transportable cradle, *kyeliu*, arranged for the child. Behind the cradle the child placed on a nightmood. Sulaimani.

Fig. 85. Transportable cradle (E. 2304) with bandages (E. 2308a-b) and cords (E. 2309a-c). The urine discharge pipe (E. 2310) placed upright in the hole in the bottom.

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abdomen and legs, holding the urine discharge pipe in position. The woollen cords that prolong the bandages are passed under the cradle and then twisted round the heavy longitudinal carrying pole, the tassels hanging as decoration and perhaps for amusement of the tied-up baby. The application of the abdominal bandage turns the child's legs outwards, and I discovered that this out-turned position of the feet persisted until the age of three[10]. A small rug is placed under the baby to absorb any excrement, urine being taken by the pipe. I was told that a bottle or such like could be hung under the cradle[11], and that an arrangement of this kind was used during the winter in rooms covered with rugs, but I never saw this used in the summer on the roof, in the courtyard or in rooms without carpets, where all liquids running on to the ground or the floor evaporated immediately. Above the bandages a small quilt, *lifa*, could be laid. The cradle possesses a curtain. For a newly-born child this was of black material, suspended from the transverse carrying pole, so that the child lay as though in a tiny tent. For a slightly larger child a turquoise or purple voile curtain was hung up. This surrounded the whole cradle like a bag with an opening on the one side. The curtain, *parde*, (E. 2307) is formed of a piece of cloth 1.80 m. long and 0.84 m. broad. It is folded together into a bag of the same height and length as the cradle, and sewn together with a seam along the upper edge, with an opening on one side. If the night air on the roof was cool a woollen blanket was laid over the curtain to shield the child from draught. To enable the child to sleep peacefully it could be blindfolded with a white cotton rag.

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Fig. 87. The stationary cradle: a box-shaped bed suspended from a frame. Sulaimani.
Fig. 88. The transportable cradle. A curtain is hung over the transverse beam. Tegnaw.

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saw a cradle of this type in use at Balkha, near the Iranian border. On top of the vessel, under the mattress, was a padded ring. The same type of cradle was brought back from Afghanistan by the Third Danish Central Asian Expedition (E. 1968). This is used by the Uzes, Ferghana[12]. A quite similar cradle from the Tartars of the Crimea is described and illustrated This is fitted with a clay vessel and urine tube. The child is fastened to the cradle by two bandages[13].

The two other patterns of cradles in Kurdistan are intended for somewhat larger children. The one is a temporary affair, the other stationary. The temporary cradle consists of a sack suspended from its four corners like a hammock, with a transverse stick inserted at each end to hold it distended. A rag is laid underneath the child which is taken up as soon as it wakes.

The stationary cradle is a hammock converted into an article of furniture. It consists of a flat, rectangular, box-shaped bed hanging from a heavy wooden frame. In th villages the box, which swings from side to side, contained straw, sacks or rags, in Sulaimani a mattress. This type of cradle is used at night for rather larger and cleaner children and for short periods during the day for infants. When the child has become too big for this pattern of cradle it is transferred to a mattress bed on the floor, just like an adult. A similar box-shaped bed (E. 773) has been brought back from Pushtu-speaking immigrants into former Kafir-districts in Afghanistan. It consists of a double wooden frame, 0.88 m. × 0.50 m. × 0.30 m. with base and sides of wickerwork and a coir rope for suspension.

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*Analysis of the three types of Kurdish cradle.* The transportable cradle in its Kurdish form is also found with the Ossetes[14] and Georgians[15] in the Caucasus. Ploss[16] illustrates them both from the Caucasus and from Lebanon; they are also found in Armenia[17] and in Turkey[18]. Bouchan mentions

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583 sum of money or in cattle, according to the circumstances of the family. Similarly, in a humble village millers (Topzawa) 200 Din. was paid for a bride from Sulaimani, the bride's father, it was said, retaining one quarter for himself; possibly this was the share kept in hand in the event of divorce or widowhood. The residue, 150 Din., was spent on jewellery and three complete outfits for the bride, on dinner service, mattresses and quilts for the bridal bed, plus a bridal chest. The bridegroom also presented the bride with a battery wireless set. Of gifts in return from the bride's family were mentioned six complete dresses for the bride (but nothing to the bridegroom's family).

[587] It was stated that the bride price for a widow or a divorced woman was less than that for a young girl, which corresponds to what Lane reports about the Egyptian Arabs[116].

In Sulaimani the highest bride price I heard of was 1500 Din., to which must be added the part deposited for payment in the event of the wife being divorced or widowed, which must have been at least about 500 Din. if a third, and 750 Din. if a half of the full bride price. As already mentioned, my interpreter's brother had saved up 500 Din., whereas the paid out part of the bride price given by the brother-in-law for her sister was 400 Din. In the meantime I was told that the girl's family had made it a condition that 1500 Din. be deposited.

As an example of the way the paid up portion of the bride price is expended, it may be of interest to review the purchases made with the sum of 400 Din. above-mentioned. As regards jewellery for the bride, turban chains with precious stones, and agates, plus chin chain with coins for securing the cap—all parts of gold—were ordered from a Sulaimani goldsmith. Compared with a similar set of ornaments I saw worn by the wife of the sheikh of Topzawa, we can assume that this set accounted for at least 100 Din.

583 352 The purchases in Baghdad were: a bedroom suite consisting of a polished wooden double bed with a spring mattress, a double wardrobe, dressing table with oval, adjustable mirror, two night tables, a stool, a large silk-lined, fitted beauty box covered with pink velvet, and a dumb waiter. In addition a spangle-embroidered rose satin bed-spread, material for a silk-embroidered rose quilt, white gauze bed-spread for use in great heat, rose satin curtains, two ornamental cushions sewn over with sequins, a rose satin housecoat studded with sequins, and rose satin for a pouch in which a copy of the Coran was to be hung[117]. Rules of cotton, plus material for covering pillows, an extra mattress for the double bed and two single mattresses for use on the roof and for sitting on were also bought, as well as bed linen: sheets, eiderdown cover and pillowcases. Other purchases comprised guest room furniture consisting of a sofa, three or four chairs, a larger and a smaller smoker's table, all in steel and green plastic. They there were kitchen and eating utensils, tea glasses, samovar, wash basin and appurtenant water jug of brass. European knick-knacks, paper flowers to put in china vases. Satin for coats and waistcoats; chiffon, nylon, and tulle interwoven with metal thread for kirtles; artificial silk with interwoven metal thread or taffeta for the long baggy trousers. Artificial silk and satin for the shift was bought either at Baghdad or Sulaimani and distributed among the home tailors, seamstresses and women at home to be made up.

To sum up, the bride price was expended on the bride's trousseau, household equipment, plus a bedroom suite in European style of the last century, very modern guest room furniture in functionalistic steel—in striking contrast to the furniture in the parental home, where the oldest things were

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clumsy, high-legged, un-upholstered sofas and chairs, whilst the later pieces were covered in red velvet in the French fashion of the '90s.

Corresponding to all this for the bride's future home and for her personal use—purchased with the 400 Din. the bridegroom had to pay out of the bride price—the bride's family, a mixture of educated and uneducated urban environments, also expended about 150 Din. on gifts for the bridegroom and his relatives who arrived the day before the wedding.

The bridegroom received from his coming in-laws his wedding clothes, in this case a light European summer suit, and with it leather shoes, socks, ties, handkerchiefs, shirt, underwear, pyjamas, soap, shaving tackle, bath gown, small bath mat of velvet to sit on during the bath, and a box of sweets. All these were later wrapped in a hand-embroidered silk cloth[19], and delivered by a messenger, an elderly woman to whom he had to give a gift of money. Those of the bridegroom's closest female relatives, that is to say the mother and two sisters, were given printed cotton for kirtles. Seven of the bridegroom's male relations received gifts from the bride's family in the form of a shirt and a pair of drawers. Of the shirts three were European style, bought in Baghdad, accompanied by ties, socks and handkerchief, whilst the other four shirts were home-made, Kurdish type. The seven pairs of drawers were all bag-shaped and without fly, though the three pairs intended to be worn with the European shirt and European suit were not cut quite as wide as the others that were designed to be worn under a Kurdish dress. A large consignment of English greys was purchased for this purpose, being cut out in the home by a seamstress who took them away to be made up.

In addition to the expense on these gifts to the bridegroom and his family, came the value of the ornaments that the bride would receive from her family when paying her first visit in her family home a week after the wedding in order to take a bath. The value of these trinkets was said to be 42 Din. Thus the cost of the wedding was, according to my information: bridegroom and his family 400 Din.; bride's family 192 Din., which latter roughly corresponded to half the bride price. To this came the cost incurred by the bride's family in entertaining the women who visited the bride the whole of the wedding day until she left.

Hay mentions that there is a difference between the urban and the village milieu in Kurdistan in regard to the expenses payable by the two families involved in a wedding. According to him[19] the young man in a Kurdish village must collect a certain sum in order to acquire a bride, whereas in the towns the bride's family gives her such ample equipment that it is unnecessary for the young man to save up in order to "purchase" her. This does not agree with my experience and the information I was given by Kurds.

As has already been shown, the position in Southern Kurdistan is that in villages the man pays a certain sum in money or cattle as the bride price or bride wealth in addition to a dress for the bride, receiving in return nothing whatever from the bride's family. To this extent my information agrees with Hay's—and with Lane's in regard to conditions in Egyptian villages[18]. When we come to urban conditions the bridegroom, in my experience, is obliged to pay a bride price, the distribution of which has been explained above, corresponding to the girl's social position. However, the bridegroom and his relatives, plus the bride, receive from the bride's family gifts equaling about half as much as the amount paid out of the bride price. This does not accord with Hay, who, in the case of the towns,

585 from which clay stairs, with high, uneven steps, led up. From the back wall of the room there was access to two smaller apartments, the one of which was to be the bridal chamber. Mattresses to sit on were spread out along the back wall for the reception of the bride, and under them was placed a lump of honey wrapped in a bread "pancake". It was stated that this should assure the gentleness [352] [262] and sweetness of the bride. Naturally, the women brought with them their children of all ages so the room was full to overflowing. The places of honour for the sheikh's wife and daughter were on the [396] mattresses lining the back wall. Entertainment during the wait consisted of cigarettes of Kurdish [354] tobacco and very sweet tea served by the youngest of the women present, a girl of about 13. Into this feminine milieu, where the hostess was the bridegroom's mother[45], came, when the car cortège was sighted, the bridegroom and one or two male relatives who, like him, had not participated in the fetching of the bride. They helped him to smooth a stick about 2 metres long with which he took up his stand on the edge of the roof just above the entrance door, surrounded by the women, who had stood up and gone across the roof to him. Sweetmeats were passed round among the women; a fowl was held ready by a woman standing at the side of the bridegroom. When the bride was taken out [262] of the bridal car she was led towards the house, supported by her two female companions, the aunt and the midwife from her own home. Like the other brides brought to the village she had over her turban a reddish-yellow, transparent gauze veil hanging down over her face[46], reddish-yellow was also the predominant colour of her dress[47], which despite the great heat consisted of so many layers of clothing that she had difficulty in moving. The costume was without belt, but this was no exception as women often went without belts. It had therefore hardly the significance mentioned by Granqvist in the case of the Palestinian Arabs: that the absence of the belt was to make her prolific[48]. As the bride approached the entrance to the house and was about to cross the threshold, the fowl was released [292] and flew over her beating its wings; at the same time the bridegroom lifted the heavy stick, which he held in both hands, and gave her a powerful blow on the crown of the head. He and the other young men thereupon disappeared from the women's group and were not seen again as long as the guests stayed in the house. The bride was helped up the stairs by her two women companions, led across the room and given a seat on a mattress. The mother of the bridegroom bade her welcome by bending over her and placing her head first against her right, and then against her left, shoulder[49], whereafter the bride's reddish-yellow veil was raised and the women pressed around her in order to see the new member of the village community. It was stated that this bride and bridegroom had never seen each other before the wedding, and the only contact they had had so far was the blow given by the groom to his bride on her arrival at her future home. The bride's trousseaux, purchased with the bride price, in this case supplemented by dresses given by the family, was carried up the stairs after her. [583] The bridal chest (E. 2278) with a painted glass front, containing the rolled-up mattresses stuffed with cotton that were to comprise the marriage bed, and the unavoidable battery-operated wireless set, were carried into the room that was to serve as the bridal chamber.

585 The bride was tattooed on the back of the hand with three dots at the base of the little finger. Her 304 finger tips were stained with henna as were also the palms, the latter being painted with a sun, a crescent 301 moon and a star. She wore stockings, a thing [292] otherwise only saw among Turkish women in Mosul, so it was not possible to know whether her feet also were henna-stained.

4: Human E-S (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11



HS Private

562 hours were spent at his favourite tea house or in the streets. The division applied also to the adolescent
593 sons, who in their leisure hours were sent out from the homes to obtain a "street education" (see
593 p. 114, 115). Only small boys of from 5 to 6 years of age still belonged to the home, that is to say, the
[883] women's world. For an outsider it seemed that this separation of the two sexes during the day caused
517 the men to inhabit a world utterly devoid of women. From the houses, booths, or tea houses men saw only anonymous, concealed figures hasten past. No woman's face or form was visible. When Ostrup[2] says that in Oriental areas a man outside his home meet the persons—other men—who constitute his spiritual content, he is quite right as regards conditions in a Kurdish town like Sulaimani. However, this can be extended to mean that the man also meets in other men persons who come to mean something for him in other ways. The social conventions of Kurdish men evinced at times a homosexual tinge; they could be seen walking together with arms round waists, holding hands
[1838] and interlacing fingers.

Within the home there seemed to be remarkable little room for him. A peg or nail on the wall for
593 his clothes, a place on the floor by the meal tray, a mattress or iron bedstead wherever he had decided
562 to sleep—that was all. Man's position in the home was clearly demonstrated one evening in my interpreter's home. A woman's party was in progress when the master of the house and his 26 year old son returned at about 10 p.m. In the courtyard, some twenty-five women were seated on chairs, mattresses and clumsy sofas, their black over-garments and veils hanging on pegs in the hall. Most of the women
[359] present were not allowed to be seen by the two men. It was technically impossible for so many women to mask simultaneously to obtain their *abā* and veils, and they therefore decided by their behaviour to create an intangible, but insurmountable, barrier between the two sexes. The men acted as though they were invisible, and the women pretended that they had not observed anyone entering the only entrance to the house. Slipping behind the row of seated women, the men disappeared into the rooms to change into their home and sleeping dress—a long striped shirt over wide pants for the elder man and *pyjamas* for the younger. Re-appearing, they once more stole past the seated women, and made their way to the corner of the courtyard where the ladder to the roof was leaning. Up this they vanished into the gloom. Neither the women nor the men exchanged the customary salutation. On this special occasion neither side was able to notice the presence of the other. There was nothing for the men to do but disappear from view, and as the women were occupying the area of the whole house, this meant going to bed on the roof.

593 The way this home was arranged, very few square metres seemed to be left at the disposal of the
595 husband and the grown-up son. Of course, in this case it was the common home of two wives. However,
562 there was very little more room for the man who had his two wives installed in separate, twin houses at Kirkuk. I had no opportunity to discover how the guest room, which was the one room common to both houses, functioned if the husband had male guests. To judge by similar cases in my interpreter's home it can be assumed that the women prepared refreshments, but kept to themselves in another room, cut off from the guest room by a passage that led from the street to the courtyard, or retired to the courtyard itself and the small rooms surrounding it. However, the guest room was not the husband's living room in the ordinary way. The two apartments together formed a home possessing two entrances from the street, but were inside unconnected. Each was a woman's home where the husband

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 MAll Kurd MAll

## Chapter V.

### The village scene

*THE VILLAGE*

The village, in its physical aspects, is fairly uniform over most of the South Kurdish area. The houses are built of mud, or rock in a mud mortar; the roofs are flat, held up by horizontal rafters — the most valuable item in the construction. Due to the nature of the architecture and the small size of available timber, the rooms of the houses tend to be quite small; pillars and posts are never used to support a longer span of roof. A second story on the building is rarely found. Frequently, there is no door with which to close the entrance, and never any glass in the windows. The windows are small and high up on the wall, the small room is always rather dark. There is no smoke-hole, the smoke from the fire on the hearth in the middle of the floor finds its way out through the entrance or the windows. The rooms are utterly devoid of furniture — the only contents of the room to which a visitor is shown is a tea samovar and some small glasses placed on an in-set shelf, and a roll of small rugs, mostly of felt, which are spread out on the floor to be sat on.

The number of rooms to a house varies, but is never very great, and must of course give accomodation to donkeys, cattle, and perhaps a horse, as well as to the people. To each house belongs a small courtyard, enclosed by a low wall. In winter, the house gives only

8: Leach E-S (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz



## CHAPTER 3

### The Guest House

622 So far we have been mainly concerned with describing the relative social positions of the different individuals that go to make up the Kurdish tribal community. It is now necessary to consider these same relationships on an institutional plane and to examine more specifically the economic context in which they operate.

I have defined the position of the village Agha in functional terms as (a) the individual who 'owns' the land and who receives rent by virtue of that title and (b) the individual responsible for the upkeep of the Guest House. We must now examine this definition more carefully.

574 622 559 It is a cardinal feature of Kurdish custom that the stranger, whatever his rank and position, is entitled to free board and lodging at the expense of the Agha. The more lavish the Agha's hospitality the greater the esteem of his fellows; so much so that the prestige a man gains by virtue of being a good and generous host may in terms of reputation fully discount disadvantages of birth. Hamid Amin Agha of Rowanduz for example though only a poor man and a fairly distant cousin of the ruling chief of his clan has a tremendous reputation throughout the district simply on account of his hospitality. On all sides it was maintained that he was much more of a man (piaw - the Kurdish idiom is the same as our own) than his nominal overlord Sheikh Mohammed Agha of Balesh. If Hamid Amin was not so generous, it was argued, he also would be rich and powerful; *Sheikh Mohammed was miserly and an old woman. It must be admitted that a mere reputation for generosity may not bring with it any particular tangible reward in the form of economic advantage or practical influence. But the pattern of the society is such that this form of reputation is esteemed above all others, and it is in the light of this set of values that the institution of the Guest House must be considered.

344 574 352 †In the Balik country the Guest House is seldom actually a house. Winter travellers are few and can be accommodated if necessary somewhere in the Agha's own residence; during the summer on the other hand a shady pergola is erected somewhere close to the Agha's house and furnished with carpets, seats and cushions. It is here that the traveller is expected to take his meals and sleep.

* This incidentally seems to have been Sheikh Mohammed's reputation throughout his life: see May p. 253.

† In the plains villages however the great heat of the summer and the greater frequency of winter travellers necessitates a permanent building for the Guest House. For description see May 47 - 49.

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MAll Kurd MAll
Rowanduz



Rowanduz area, and approximately also to area B of Map 1. It does not apply at all to area C. 361 342

The technological peculiarities of the buildings may be summarized as follows:

The shape is rectangular but there is no consistency in size or plan. As a rule the main door faces downhill and leads out onto the roof of the house immediately below but this practice varies. The walls are usually of rough cut stone set in a mud plaster about two feet thick, but the modern tendency is to substitute sun-dried mud brick for the stone and plaster. Some houses are two stories high but this is rather unusual; in both cases the upper storey is reached by an outside ladder. All rooms have windows in the outside wall but, except in the Agha's houses, these are very rarely any shutters. The fire is set in a small floor pit; there is sometimes a proper smoke vent in the roof but more usually the only escape for smoke is through the window. The roof is flat, sloping downwards slightly towards the front; the main roof beams run horizontally, parallel to the hill contours, while over them is laid a thick layer of thin branches about the thickness of pencils. This is given a top dressing several inches thick of a clayey mass from lime, ashes and rubble. In dry weather this sets hard and provides a perfectly rigid floor, but it is not a true cement. Under rain, it quickly goes soft and must be kept constantly rolled if leaks are to be avoided. The furnishings of a Kurdish house are extremely meagre. A variety of cooking utensils are the chief items. There is seldom a chair or a table. Bedding consists of felt quilts, perhaps a rug or two, and blankets. During the daytime these are rolled up in a corner and pushed out of the way. It may be mentioned that the most valuable parts of the house are the roof beams. Straight lengths of timber of adequate length are hard to obtain, and only Aghas can afford anything really substantial. If for any reason a peasant decides to build a new house, he dismantles the roof of his old one and uses the materials for his new house. A village site that has been abandoned thus reverts almost immediately to common scrub. The limitations of this type of architecture are chiefly defined by the deficiency of materials. This is demonstrated in the houses of the wealthier Aghas and Shaikhs where by adding refinements such as wooden floors, glass windows and hinged doors extremely comfortable houses can be erected from a design essentially similar to that of the ordinary peasant's house. With any levelling up of the general economic status of the community similar modifications of the peasant architecture may also be expected. Building is nowadays a specialist craft; an expert is usually called in from the town, the client supplying the materials. The employment of town experts is probably correlated with the adoption of mudbrick instead of stone and plaster noted above. 342 352 • 415 342 331 463 342